1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1969 ND12 Nahane ND12

much longer than those found on toboggans. Instead of fitting on the rear of the conveyance, the handlebars of a sleigh extend about halfway to the front of the vehicle where they are screwed in place. A lashing of babiche runs along each side of the sleigh body and is used for tying down the load. Shafts are employed with the dog harness. These are cut from green spruce poles, about six feet long and three inches in their greatest diameter. They are attached to the sleigh by means of babiche. The line passes through a pair of holes drilled in the most forward stanchion on each side of the sleigh and through corresponding holes drilled at the lower end of each shaft.

Sleighs are packed the same way as toboggans and their management follows similar principles. When not in use they stand on one side or else are stored on sleigh racks. When left standing with the runners in the snow, ice forms which must be knocked off before the vehicle can be used.

Toy sleds, about three or four feet long, are played with by children around the winter settlements.

Foot travel is the commonest form of overland summer travel, although some Nelson Indian children and women ride horses when long distances must be covered. In winter, children from five or six years of age generally walk, while younger children are packed on the mother's back or else ride in sleighs and toboggans. No particular type of foot-gear is regarded as most suitable for land travel in summer, although moccasins are preferred for hunting. In winter moccasins are always worn and, under these, snowshoes.

Snowshoes have several functions. By relieving the strain of plodding through deep snow and the problem of slipping on an unevenly packed trail, they reduce fatigue in winter travel. They also facilitate travel, since a person can go faster on snowshoes than by plodding through deep snow unaided. Finally these aids are necessary in breaking trail for dogs, and therefore increase the daily distance which these animals can cover.

Snowshoes are of two types. The first, used for hunting and trapping, generally equals the wearer's height in length and is about a foot wide. These are used when a man desires to travel cross country as rapidly as possible, the size of the webbed area preventing him from sinking too deeply into the snow. While such "big snowshoes" are known, their use was not observed among the Upper Liard Indians during the period of field work. The second type is used in breaking trail for dogs and vehicles and for hunting or trapping. Their length is also apportioned to the height of the wearer, a five foot man generally wearing snowshoes about three feet long and ten inches wide. Left and right foot snowshoes are recognized, the greatest curve of the wood being on the outside of the foot. Snowshoe frames are prepared by men and the panels are almost always filled by women. The details of lacing and of the foot lashing follow the style which has been traditional since aboriginal times and will not be described here.

In contrast to what has been said for other areas,[18] the Kaska Indian tends to walk on

[18] A detailed description of putting on, walking, and running with snowshoes will be found in Osgood, Ingalik Material Culture (1958), 249-250. The picture he gives there is in complete agreement with what was noted among the Kaska. Personal use of snowshoes revealed that it takes no more than two or three hours to become used to them in walking. Learning to turn takes longer time, and a number of days are required before their presence on the feet ceases to be unpleasantly noted. So far as their indispensability is concerned, there can be no question.

1: Honigmann: E-9 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahanni ND12

TABLE 11. PRICE OF MERCHANDISE AND INDIAN PRODUCE[a]

Item	One Adult	Two Adults
Flour (Canada approved)	10 lbs.	20 lbs.
Rolled oats	5 lbs.	10 lbs.
Baking powder	1 lb.	2 lbs.
Tea	1 lb.	2 lbs.
Sugar	5 lbs.	10 lbs.
Beans	5 lbs.	10 lbs.
Rice	5 lbs.	10 lbs.
Prunes	5 lbs.	10 lbs.
Dried milk	5 lbs.	10 lbs.
Fat	5 lbs.	10 lbs.
Matches	1/2 to 1 pkt. per month	
	1/2 to 1 pkt. per month	

who, because of age or widowhood, are presumed to be unable to reap sufficient furs to maintain themselves. Lacking even such essentials as tea and dried fruit, these rations are evidently expected to be supplemented by meat and fish supplied by relatives or friends or caught on rabbit snares. The allotment is bitterly criticized by most Indians.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Clothing is used for protection and modesty but relatively little attention is paid to dress as a channel for expressing vanity. Although new and attractive clothes are greatly valued by girls, only one or two young women are characterized by any demonstrable narcissism in this respect. Most women are not careful in the way they dress, change clothes relatively infrequently (although more often than men), and wear garments that are stained, worn, and ill fitting.

In summer men wear two piece suits of knitted cotton underwear with long sleeves and drawers. Over this are trousers of cotton duck or worsted, and a flannel shirt with long sleeves. The trousers are often khaki colored, the shirt blue or gray. The collar is left open and in very warm weather several additional buttons of the shirt and undershirt are undone. Trousers are supported by a leather cowskin belt which is often quite wide and garishly studded. Heavy woolen socks are worn over ankle high leather boots which are usually laced from the outside in, instead of from inside out. A few of the older men wear slipper moccasins.

A wide variety of headgear is favored.[b] Young men are attracted to "cowboy" hats or wide brimmed fedoras. Older men usually wear dishpanned stag brim felt hats. Other types of headgear appear and disappear as fads take hold. In 1944, Tahltan Indian youths from

[b] The list is dated January 1, 1944. Children under twelve years receive half this ration. "This ration," the list reads, "is set by the Indian Affairs Branch at Ottawa and merchants must not change either the quantities or commodities without written permission from the local Indian Agent."

[b] In conformation, Dr. Cornelius Osgood has pointed out that a taste for novelty in headgear seems to be characteristic of aboriginal and contemporary Northern Athapaskans and is also found in the Northwest Coast. For some types of headgear see Plate 1.

291 Yakutat Creek were distinguished by their homemade white canvas rubber caps. In the early summer of 1940, most Eyaks possessed these caps, a number being sold by local Tlingits families at two dollars apiece. In August of that year, a new fad appeared when Eyak girls began to make caps of blue canvas cloth dropped like the overseas caps worn by the American Army and the Royal Canadian Air Force. During the warmest part of the day men and boys wear go barefoot.

291 In winter men don heavier woolen underwear and woolen trousers. Leather shoes are now abandoned in favor of large moccasins supplied with an extra warp of canvas. These are worn with one or two pairs of woolen socks and blanket duffel. A heavy woolen shirt, with a sweater or purchased parka, are also worn. The most common winter hat is made by covering heavy broadcloth with beaver skin, and is provided with large flaps which, when let down, protect the ears and face (Pl. 1, c). Large mittens, with a wide cuff covering the lower end of the sleeves, are always worn when traveling. In spring, when the ground is wet, ankle high rubber shoes are common.

Summer garb for women includes flannel bloomers and either a flannel underskirt, rayon slip, or blouse. Corsets and girdles are not used, although John Adams was attracted by these garments in the illustrated mail order catalog and expressed the desire to buy a girdle. She thought it would help her to feel better. On top of these undergarments is worn a cotton dress, which to younger girls is cocked too coarse or worsted slacks. During a period when women's slacks were difficult to purchase, several girls were seen in black trousers. A bright colored blouse is generally added over these garments and sometimes also tucked into the slacks. Older women, however, may wear two long dresses, or an extra skirt and blouse. Old Lady Isbella always wore a pair of men's trousers under her skirt and petticoat.* While some younger girls go without stockings, the majority wear mercerized dark colored lisle or black ribbed cotton stockings. Low or medium heel oxfords are the most common type of footwear, except among older women who wear moccasins with canvas ankle wraps. Girls often go barefoot; older women cover the head with a rayon scarf. In winter these basic garments, except for the shoes, remain the same, although fur traveling leather slacks may be put on. Black ribbed stockings, sometimes worn double, are common in cold weather and there is added a woolen or poplin windbreaker or heavy woolen sweater. Wide duffel moccasins and duffel mitts, both worn with blanket duffel, are standard winter garb. Headgear consists of a woolen scarf which may also be wrapped around the neck.

Young boys wear knitted wool cotton undergarments plus overalls or long trousers and a flannel or cotton shirt. In summer, moccasins and oxfords are worn less often than rubber overshoes. Young girls wear flannel bloomers and a shirt covered with a cotton dress. Cotton stockings and oxfords or moccasins complete their ensemble. In cold weather, children of both sexes don woolen overalls, black ribbed cotton stockings, a sweater or duvetin cloth windbreaker, wool mittens, moccasins, moccasins, and mittens lined with duffel.

Little variation in dress is observed corresponding to moderate changes in temperature. Summer garments are worn till quite late in the fall, eventually with the addition of a jacket or windbreaker. In summer, a jacket or sweater is sometimes added toward evening. When

* According to Nida, Fifty River Indian women wear "trousers" instead of bloomers under their skirts.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] dress, so that the whole will not be subjected to too much wear. Middle-class people may be purchased locally from traders.[1] Piping is inserted in the seams of waistcoats and jackets, serving both as decoration and to prevent the possibility of split.

Children's hair-fillet often consists of a woollen or flannel rag (slightly wrapped around the hair, sometimes within hair, which has been dyed numbers in cold weather, is used for the purpose. Infant fillet is cut from old woollen blankets, the pattern being used to follow on the woollen pattern which was abandoned a long time ago. Material of the required size is then folded along the diagonal (a-b) as shown in Fig. 4, a, and is then again folded along (c-d). The rectangle of folded material thus obtained is now cut along a curved line. When laid on the upper layer a new cut as illustrated by the broken line and the garments were around the toe and side thus making a loose slipper. The last a seam is written on each of the bottom of the lower layer, which is then cut to square off the heel and seam. The inside strap of the same material is added, but on having a need to keep this part in place over the outer waistcoat lacing will do so. Fill makes are sometimes worn as additional fillet.

Although strangely the Upper Land Indians made the parka, today there are only a few women who know how to cut this garment, which is usually purchased. Native parkas are manufactured from duffel cloth or canvas. With Inlet made a parka during the period of field work (Fig. 4, c) and explained that in her country, around Fort Laird, the garment continued to be manufactured. Two pieces are cut of the parka body (i) and seven together back to front (a-d) and (e-g). The front of the parka is cut down from the neck as indicated by the broken line. The sleeve (ii) is sewn from (a') to (f) and then attached to the body (a') containing (c), and (d'), (e). The hood (iii) is sewn from (h) to (j) and then attached with opening (a-b) being sewn to the neck. In the sewing, point (h) touches the back corner of the neck, and points (a) the front corner of the neck on either side of the cut. When the hood is open it will be seen that there are two points (a). This pattern undoubtedly reflects the influence of commercially manufactured garments.

Women's dresses, underwear and stockings are worn for about a week before being laundered. Men may wear their clothes for two weeks or longer before washing. Girls or women wash clothes in galvanized iron tubs which are set on the ground or floor (F, 11, a). Water is heated on an open fire and poured into the tub, soap powder also being added. The laundress stands a few feet or fifteen feet, or squats on the ground over the vessel. Washboards are not employed, although these are available at the stores. Squeezing the soapy water out of the garments with the right hand, the woman at the same time rotates it between her two feet in a circular movement. The entire garment is gone over several times in this way. Clothes are not rinsed. When clean, the article is stretched to shape and thrown over a line strung near the camp. In travelling, garments, especially diaper clothes, are often spread on willows to dry. There is no common washday, a wife or daughter doing this task as the need arises.

Adornment. The principal ornaments worn by women are a rosary and a variety of hair ornaments, including combs with artificial flowers, clips, ribbons, and barrettes. Sometimes girls appear at dances with rosaries in their hair. Men wear rings and arm garters. Both sexes frequently have watch-pockets.

[1] On Christmas morning (1941) Harvey Cree, a Hudson Indian, wore a very decorative pair of moccasins.

[END PLATE 2]

[END PLATE 3]

A

B

C

D

[END PLATE 5]

[END PLATE 7]

A

B

C

D

[END PLATE 8]

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Dress

291 Clothing of men and women was much alike. Usually full dress for men consisted of long boots or instead of these moccasins and long leggings, breech-clouts, belt, shirt, robe, and cap or headband. Some used no shirts. Mitts and neck-wraps were used in cold weather. Women wore boots, moccasins and leggings like those of the men. They used no breech-clouts, their shirts were much longer than men's shirts, and therefore may be better called dresses or gowns. Belts, robes, caps or hoods, neck-wraps and mitts were also used by women. Usually people went fully dressed or nearly so but this depended considerably on the weather. In very warm weather a few men when at home were only breech-clouts. It seems that formerly boots were more used than moccasins and leggings in the winter time. No ponchos were used either large or small. Small ones consisting of single skins like those common among the Nitsk were not used. No poncho vests tying at the sides like those of the Nitsk were used. No aprons, skirts or bodices were in vogue. Cloaks and capes were [17] not part or regular dress but only ceremonial. No clothing woven of any kind of bark was used although such was used to some extent by the Tlingit and therefore known to the Tahltan. All clothing was of leather and fur.

Moccasins

291 Moccasins were made of caribou and moose
294 leather and sewed with sinew. Long ago there was only the one style or cut of moccasin known. This kind had a round toe and a long tongue. It was of three pieces, viz., bottom or foot, instep or tongue, and top, upper legging or anklepiece. The heel seam was T-shaped and there was no toe seam, the foot piece at the toe being turned up over the end of the foot and sewed to the long instep piece with considerable puckering to obtain the desired shape. The tongues of some of these moccasins were longer in proportion than others, some reaching almost to the end of the toes. In most of them, however, the tongue was further back reaching to about the base of the toes. The ankle piece varied in depth and consisted of lighter leather than the foot piece. The laces consisted of two strings of caribou leather which passed around the folded anklepiece holding the shoe tightly on the foot. The trailer was cut square across

and generally close up to the heel. (See Swan, Fig. 24 and National Museum specimens No. 1). I have called this kind of moccasin Type A for the Tahltan or the 'round-toed' type. (It is the same as the No. 2 series of Swan). It is still used by the Tahltan, some of whom prefer it to the other type, especially for walking with snow-shoes. This type of moccasin occurs in the South among the Hidat and other tribes, but there it is uncommon and also modern, having been copied from moccasins used by the forefathers.

There other types or cuts or moccasins are used by the tribe at the present day. One of these, which I will call Type B or the 'square cut toe' type is also a three piece moccasin. The tongue is short and the foot piece has a T-shaped heel seam and a T-shaped toe seam. The toe seam generally ends on the top of the foot very near the end of the toe rather than exactly at the end of the toe, but this feature varies somewhat. There is also some difference in the width of the horizontal cut at the end of the toe. Usually the skin at the end of the vertical seam extending from the tongue to the toe protrudes a short distance over the cross or horizontal seam, forming a short flap which hides it. The lower part of the horizontal seam is often more or less puckered, but this also varies in individual shoes. This moccasin is the same as Swan's series VIII, and National Museum specimens Nos. 2 and 3. It differs from the same type of moccasin among tribes to the south (viz., Chilcotin, Shuswap, Hidat and Kutenai, etc.,) in the following minor details. Among the southern tribes the toe seam nearly always ends exactly at the end of the toe. The horizontal cut at the toe is always narrow and often exceedingly narrow. Instead of the upper part of the skin at the cross or horizontal cut or seam at the top overlapping and the lower part sewed up under it with more or less puckering, the opposite is the case. The lower part of the skin at the cut instead of the upper part inclines to protrude. (It is, however, nearly always cut very close) and the upper part of the cut is generally sewed down on the lower. There are in the south as well, some slight individual variations, but the above differences hold good on the whole. Some Tahltan moccasins of this type have the cross or horizontal cut exactly at the end of the toe, the upper and lower ends of the skin at the cut are turned inwards and sewed to each other so there are no indications of overlapping leather below or above. Some moccasins are sewed the same way.

A third type of moccasin common among the Indians to also of these groups. I will call it Type C or the 'seam over toe' style. It differs from Type B only in having a straight instead of a U-shaped toe seam. This seam extends down the front of the foot from the tongue to and over the toe ending underneath the latter. Sometimes the end of the seam is slightly puckered and sometimes not. There is a little variation in the exact position of the ending of this seam, some ending nearer the end of the toe and others further back, more under the foot. In all, however, the end of the seam is decidedly under the foot. This style of moccasin is the same as Hatt's series No. VI. (See National Museum specimens Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8).

A very similar moccasin referable to the same type is used by tribes further south (viz. Shuswap, Ailish, Okanagan, etc.,) but with them the front of the seam ends invariably at the point of the toe and never under the latter, and there is hardly ever the slightest puckering of the seam where it terminates.

The fourth type of moccasin is much less common than the others. I will call it Type D or the 'tongueless' or 'duffle' kind. This is a one piece moccasin and would probably fall in Hatt's moccasin series II. It has generally a shaped heel seam and a straight toe seam ending at the point of or under the toe. There is no tongue or instep piece. Sometimes uppers are added which would put it /in/ the two piece class. (See National Museum specimens No. 9 and 10). This moccasin, if not made in the low slipper style, is laced generally after the style of shoes of the Whites, the lacing passing through holes or eyes on each side of the opening which extends from the ankle to the lower part of the instep. This type of moccasin does not occur among tribes in Southern British Columbia. Among the Tahltan it has only come into vogue during the last eight years, or so and has been copied from the blanket and sheepskin duffles or extra socks used inside of moccasins in cold weather by the Whites in the North (Northern B.C. and Yukon, etc.)

Referring to types of moccasins A, B, and C, it may well be to note that all my informants agree that the 'round-toed' Type A was the only kind used by the Tahltan long ago and in fact until within comparatively recent times. It was also the only kind used at one time by the Taku Tagish, and all the neighboring Kaska. They also claim that it was at one time the principal and perhaps only type used by the Tlingit everywhere. It was also used by the neighboring Niska and Kitikanan but whether

/it was/ the only kind used by them is unknown to the Tahltan. Mr. Hatt has spoken of the wide distribution of this type of moccasin in the North, where it appears to extend across the continent from the Pacific to the Atlantic and also occurs among certain peoples of the old world (Hatt pp 171-175, 210, etc.)

/In regard to/ the square cut toe, Type B, all informants agree that this type is modern and not essentially Tahltan, as stated by Emmons (Emmons p. 43). They aver that Emmons may have misinterpreted information given him as to the relative frequency of this style of moccasin, which at the present day is probably more common among the Tahltan than the Kaska. The Tahltan say this type of moccasin was first seen among the Kaska and later adopted by the Tahltan, but it was not original with the Kaska. The Tahltan name for it is nā dā'kā which is derived from nā dā, a nickname given by them to a White man who traded for 'fine stuff' with the Kaska in the Dease River country. This man wore this kind of moccasin. He was one of the early fur traders who came into the country from the east. This places the introduction of this moccasin easily within historic times or since the coming of the Whites or fur traders (viz., not earlier than 1834 and probably some time after 1840).

Regarding the seam over toe Type C, all agree that this kind of moccasin was introduced a little later (a few years only) than Type B. This kind of moccasin also appeared first among the Kaska and was later adopted by the Tahltan. Thus both types B and C came in closely following each other in early fur trading days, and both came in from the east, having been adopted by the Kaska before the Tahltan.

'Slipper' moccasins are much used by the Tahltan in the camps and houses in much the same way as slippers among the Whites. They are just like other moccasins excepting that the top or ankle piece is lacking, thus putting them in a two piece class. They have no lacing. Some of them have a loop at the top of the heel for helping in pulling them on. In structure most of them belong to Types B and C, especially the latter. It seems probable these low slipper moccasins were not used long ago. (See National Museum specimens No. 8, 9, 5 and 4). All moccasins were sewed with sinew thread. There was no difference between the styles of moccasins used by men and women. In hunting and travelling moccasins with uppers or ankle pieces were always used.

Some moccasins made of thin skin had an extra

291 sole sewed inside to make them more comfortable for
294 walking. Formerly when holes came in the soles or toes of moccasins they were soled and patched. Nowadays many people do not trouble doing this but throw away moccasins when the soles wear into holes. The laces or strings of moccasins are arranged somewhat differently from the common methods in vogue among the Interior
291 Salish and Kutenai. Each moccasin has two strings, one
294 on each side. One end of the string is knotted to pre-
284 vent pulling through, and the other end is passed from the inside through an awl hole made in the foot part of the moccasin a little below the upper edge and about half way between the heel and toe or immediately below the shin bone. The string now passes through two holes made close together two or three inches further forward on the side of the instep near the junction of the foot piece with the tongue and upper. It passes in through one hole and out through the other. This arrangement makes a loop on each side of the foot through which the free ends of the strings are passed from opposite sides across the front of the ankle, keeping in place the front of the uppers, which are folded across the top or free part of the tongue. The two strings are then wound around the uppers from opposite directions and their ends tied. This method of arranging moccasin laces, although good, is inferior to the common methods of the Interior Salish and Kutenai. Among the Tahltan I have not noticed laces consisting of a single string encircling the foot nor with double loops at the sides, nor with ends twisted back around the loops, nor with strings passing through the tongue and uppers.

291 Wet moccasins were not stuffed with dry grass
294 to shape them when drying. Formerly small sticks were used by some to keep them stretched.

No lasts were used in the making or shaping of moccasins.

No sandals were used and no fish-skin moccasins.

292 Only fancy moccasins had double tongue pieces. The ornamented piece was uppermost. The lower piece was considered the real tongue. Sometimes the outside of the leather was turned in, whereas the leather in the rest of the moccasin was always the reverse way.

In shape, tongues were universally rounded in the lower part where they fitted into the foot piece of the moccasin. Most of them were cut square across at the upper edge. A few, however, had the upper edge more

or less rounded or even occasionally somewhat triangular in shape. 291 294

Some slipper moccasins were provided with loops of thong or braid at the back of the ankle to pull them on with. The uppers of many moccasins were cut to project in front so as to better cover and fold over the front of the ankle/and thus cover it better./ (See Hatt, Fig. 24).

Boots

Long boots of caribou leather were very common long ago and continued to be much used until some time after the coming of the first fur traders. They were the same as a long legging combined with a moccasin of Type A. Forms of feet like moccasin Types B and C were never used for boots. The legs of boots stretched up to the thighs and they were square cut at the tops. They were held up by strings which fastened to a separate belt around the waist and were generally further kept in place by garters just below the knees. It seems in most cases the strings for tying the boot tops to the belt were attached to the front part of the boot tops and not to the sides. (See Hatt, Fig. 72 and Nat. Mus. specimens No. 11, 12, 13). These boots are now never used.

Socks

It seems the only kind of socks used were in the winter time. These consisted of soft thin pieces of skins dressed in the hair, just large enough in size to wrap around the foot. The fur side was generally put next the foot. The most common skin used was that of the marmot. Otherwise, dry soft grass shredded fine or caribou hair well teased were used inside moccasins instead of socks. No socks of woven materials were used. At the present day woolen socks and blanket duffles are chiefly used. These are nearly all obtained from the stores. A few socks and stockings are of native make. 291 [177]

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Leggings

Leggings were of caribou leather and square-cut both at the tops and bottoms. It seems none of them were cut to fit the thigh and extend up the outside of the hip. They reached from the ankle to the thigh and were fastened with strings to a belt in the same way as boots. Generally they were also held in position by garters. When traveling in snow they were further confined by the moccasin strings at the bottoms or had the moccasin tops folded over them and fastened. It seems, however, that boots were preferred to leggings by many people in the winter time. They were made to fit the length and thickness of the leg but were rather loose than tight fitting. None of them were shaped to fit the contour of the leg or to be glove like. (No. 14).* In later days, blanket leggings partially took the place of those made of skin and a few are still used by women in the winter time. (No. 15).* Some of these came only a little above the knee being held in place by garters. Skin and other leggings are now seldom used, not even over trousers. Women often use men's pants under their skirts when traveling in snow.

Breech-clouts

It is said these were used only by men, and more especially in the winter time. They were made of soft skins dressed in the hair and worn fur side next the body in cold weather. Skins of marmots and rabbits were chiefly used. They had strings attached to them for fastening around the waist or to the belt. Some had belts sewed to one end, and strings from the corners of the other end to tie the belt. The belts of others passed through a piece of leather sewed down over the edge of the skin at one end leaving sufficient room for the belt to be drawn through. Others again had short strings from all four corners for fastening the clout to the belts. Breech-clouts went entirely out of vogue with the introduction of trousers. None of them had long ends which hung down as aprons in front or at the back, and none consisted of long strips which merely passed under and over the belt and were not fastened in any way. (See No. 16, 17).*

[77]

* Nos 14, 15, 16, 17, refer to National Museum specimens.

Pants

No pants or trousers were used long ago. They commenced to come into use very shortly after the arrival of the first fur traders (possibly some time ca. 1835 to 1845). It seems before this time trousers had not been seen. The first made by the Tahltan were combination, leggings and breech-clouts varying somewhat in construction. Soon afterwards other styles a little more like pants were made. These were altogether of leather and like a combination of leggings up to about the waist, the tops of the leggings being enlarged and sewed together at the front and back so as to envelop the hips and posterior. They were held up by strings tied to the belt and sometimes by other means. Some of them were combination boots and trousers. Only a few of these garments were used. These leather trousers probably resemble the Nahane trousers figured by Matt (see Matt, Fig. 73). Soon afterwards, however, the Tahltan commenced to make better copies of the white man's trousers. These were made of caribou leather and more patterned in every way after the old style pants used by the fur traders and sailors, which opened with a flap in front. These trousers became quite common. Commencing with the Cassiar gold rush in 1874 and the consequent establishment of numerous trading stores, leather pants soon went out of vogue and are seldom used now.

Garters

Garters were universally used by men and women. Most of them consisted of plain strings and narrow bands of leather which were tied over the leggings or boot legs below the knee. Some were fastened permanently to the leggings, the ends being loose. Garters were often ornamented with bead or quill embroidery excepting at the ends where they tied. In later years some garters were fastened with buttons at the sides of the legs. Some other garters, often also fastened to the leggings, were of strings of leather twisted together. A number of them fastened to leggings had down of birds caught in the twining. Some of these garters were more for ornament than for utility.

Shirts

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Shirts were of caribou and moose leather, generally the former. Some were also made of marmot and other strong skins. These were worn fur side out. In structure men's shirts were the same as women's dresses, only they were shorter and had no pleats below the breast opening. All shirts reached half way between the thigh and knee, and all appear to have been square cut at the bottom. All had full length sleeves sewed to the body and all were slit a short distance down the chest, the opening being tied with strings. They also tied with strings at the wrists. None of them opened on the shoulders. Most of them had low vertical collars and low cuffs. None of them had hoods. Shirts were worn with and without belts over them. (No. 18).* It is claimed that low collars, low cuffs and openings in front are all old and have not been copied from the whites. It is said that very long ago shirts were not very much used, but in later times they became quite common and were used by most men. Later still, after the arrival of the first fur traders they became practically universal. Some skin shirts are still used but nowadays they are cut after the fashion of white men's shirts, viz., are cut to shape from patterns, have deep cuffs, lying down collar, button down the breast and some have pockets. It seems no shirts with hoods were used by men.

[m]

Boys' shirts were like men's shirts but their lengths varied more and they had less ornamentation.

Winter shirts used by young children of both sexes were made of marmot, from ground squirrel and other skins. They had attached hoods, and the ends of the sleeves were closed or sewed together, thus covering the hands as well as the arms and doing away with the necessity for mittens. These shirts opened in front, where they were tied with strings, and some overlapped on the chest when closed or tied. They varied somewhat in length. Generally they were worn fur side out. (No. 19).*

* Nos 18 and 19 refer to National Museum specimens.

Dresses or Gowns

Women wore dresses or gowns of caribou leather, much resembling men's shirts, but very much longer and of more ample width, especially in the lower or skirt part. The shortest ones reached half way between the

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knees and ankle, but most of them reached almost or quite to the ankle. All appear to have been square cut at the bottom. Dresses were of two skins. To obtain the necessary length and width the greater part of one skin formed the back and the other the front. I did not learn whether there was a definite tribal method of placing the skins (head part up or otherwise). The outside surface of the skin was always out, and the middle or best part of the skin used. This part of each skin was cut out to the desired length and width of the dress, both parts being exactly equal in size. The side cuts, or those lengthways with the skin, were made in a gradual slant outwards from top to bottom. This was for the purpose of giving additional width or flare to the dress in the lower part. The cuts at the top and bottom were made straight across. The two pieces of skin were sewed to each other at the sides from top to bottom and across the shoulders, excepting the neck opening and the openings for the sleeves. Sometimes the side seams were left open for a few inches up from the bottom. From the middle of the neck opening the dress was slit down the breast thus making a breast opening. The sleeves were made from selvage pieces of the two skins, if these pieces were sufficiently large and of good enough quality. If not, other skin was used. The sleeves were of full length and comparatively close fitting. They were wider at the shoulders and narrowed towards the wrists. The seam was on the inside of the arm and was sometimes sewed full length. However most dresses were opened from the wrist to about halfway to the elbow. A low collar was sewed to the neck opening and low cuffs to the hand openings. The latter were closed with tie strings sewed to the cuffs, and the neck and breast openings were closed in like manner. The neck and wrists were close fitting. It seems there was generally no attempt at shaping the top of the sleeve or the opening to which it was sewed. Both were joined squarely. Immediately below the breast slit a pleat was put in most dresses by folding the skin about two inches over to one side and the fold or pleat sewed down to the dress at this point. This had the result of making one edge of the skin at the breast cut overlap the other, thus quite closing the opening when tied. It seems sometimes two pleats were made, one from each side, the chief object of this it seems being to reduce the waist. Usually a band of skin was sewed to one edge (the overlapping edge where there was such) of the breast cut. This band overlapped and when the dress was tied it completely concealed the breast cut. It generally extended far enough down to also conceal the sewing of the pleat, or pleats, if such existed. Most dresses had permanent

291 294 belts attached or sewed to them at the back. The ends were brought around the waist and fastened with tie strings in front. Many had a couple of long strings inserted in the seam at each side of the dress at the waist. These were intended to tie around the belt if desired and keep it from sagging at the sides. Dresses worn by nursing mothers had the slit in front considerably longer than in dresses worn by other women. This was to facilitate the suckling of their babies. In many cases at least the entire dress with all accessories such as fringes etc. were made of two skins.

Coats etc.

177 291 No coats, overcoats or vests were used until after the coming of the whites. No separate cuffs or half sleeves were used as among some tribes. Armlets are used by some of the young men nowadays but they are nearly all of white manufacture. A very few are made of bands of leather ornamented with quill work in the same way as garters. A few coats are made of caribou leather. Some of these resemble somewhat the old style shirts, whilst others are fashioned more like White men's coats.

Belts

291 294 Belts consisted of bands of leather about two or three inches wide and sufficiently thick to preclude much stretching. Caribou skin was chiefly used. Only a few were of other kinds of skin. Many belts were used separately and many were attached to the clothing, as particularly in women's dresses and to a less extent on men's shirts, breech-clouts etc. Some belts consisted of twisted goat's wool.

Mitts etc.

[177] No gloves were used until after the coming of the whites. Mitts were made of leather and also of skins of marmot, caribou and beaver dressed in the hair.

Some other furs were also sometimes used. Mitts nowadays are cut after styles of mittens made by the Whites. Formerly they were made very much after the style of the moccasins of the 'round toed' kind. A piece of skin larger than the length and width of the hand was bent over the ends of the fingers and sides of the hand and sewed with puckering to an insert piece (resembling the tongue in moccasins) which covered the palm and interior part of the front of the hand. The thumb formed a separate piece sewed to the body of the mitt. Mitts varied in length, some coming up the arm a short distance. To the upper edges of the mitts were sewed the ends of the carrying strap, the bight of which encircled the neck, allowing the mitts to hang down from the front of the shoulders. (For modern mitts see National Museum specimens Nos 20, 21, 22. For old style mitts No. 23). Carrying straps consisted of strips of caribou leather flat or in ribbon form or sometimes twisted as cord. Some were of twisted cord of goat's wool. At the present day many consist of colored yarn. 291 294 [177]

Leather gloves of their own manufacture are used by everybody. In the winter large mitts take their place; these are also all of their own make. A few woolen gloves and mitts procured from the stores are in occasional use.

Neck-wraps

In very cold weather neck-wraps of fur were often used by both sexes, consisting of entire skins of foxes and other fur bearing animals of similar or smaller size. These were simply wrapped around the neck as tightly as convenient and the heads and tails tied together. Handkerchiefs and woolen neck-wraps procured from the Whites are now used extensively. [177]

Caps, etc.

Caps were made of fur, hair side out. They consisted of a wide band to fit the circumference of the head, the ends of which were sewed together. To this was sewed a circular piece to form the crown. The skins used were chosen for lightness and warmth, fox and marten being the most common. Beaver was also used,

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294 and lynx occasionally, according to some. No caps of marmot skin and bear skin were used. Some say beaver caps were common. Winter caps had flaps of fur sewed to the sides. In really cold weather these were tied down over the ears with strings which fastened under the chin. The fur side of the flaps was next the ears. At other times the flaps were tied with the strings up over the top of the cap.

In the heat of the summer most people went bare headed.

Some young men wore headbands which were in every way the same as the caps excepting that there was no crown. Some even in very cold weather wore these crownless caps but with ear flaps. Boys wore caps similar to their elders.

The women wore caps different from those of the men and more like bonnets or hoods. They also were of fur and used chiefly in the winter time. It seems most of them were made of two or three pieces of skin. A wide strip encircled the head downwards to below the ears. To this was sewed a rounded back piece which covered all the rest (or back part) of the head. Often a narrow strip of the same or different fur was sewed on as a margin or trimming to the front of the cap. These caps tied under the chin and were used by girls of all ages as well as women. At the present time some women use caps of the same kind as the men in the winter. Caps of their own manufacture are still used to some extent by the tribe in the winter time. Many of them are lined on the inside with calico, etc. Silk handkerchiefs are now much used on the head by women and also by some men in warm and moderate weather. Hats procured from the traders are the common headwear of men during moderate weather. Some young men wear hat bands of native manufacture with hats. In the winter time some wear woolen toques some made by themselves, as these are purely ornamental. For further mention of them, see under ornamentation of clothing. Mention of other kinds of caps and head bands belonging rather to ceremonial costume will be found under that heading.

Robes

Robes were used by people of all ages and

both sexes. Most of them were of animal's skins dressed in the hair and worn hair side out. Probably the most common robes used were those made of marmot, ground squirrel and lynx skins. Many of the wealthy people wore robes of marten and fox skins and the Naskotin used fisher skins. Many robes were bordered with strips of caribou leather two or more inches wide. Some had only the neck so bordered. Most robes were held in place with tie strings which fastened at the neck and chest, and also by belts around the waist. The latter were not sewed to the robe. Rabbit skin robes were also used a good deal, especially by the poorer people or children of poor people. These were of two kinds woven and unwoven. The latter consisted of rabbit skins sewed together double so there was fur both inside and outside the robe. When children were seen wearing these robes some people laughed and remarked "Poor children. Their parents must be poor." Robes worn of twisted strips of rabbit skin were used chiefly by women of the Talakotin. A few robes of caribou skin in the hair were used. No robes of leather were used. Woven goat's wool robes procured from the Tlingit were hardly ever worn. They were used only as ceremonial clothing. Robes varied somewhat in size and shape. Most of them were just long enough to envelope the body from neck to the ankles. In width they were large enough to overlap in front. Some were a little shorter. A good many were larger, some of them being long enough to envelope the head as well as all the rest of the body. (For a woven rabbit skin robe see National Museum specimen No. 27). 291 ● 294

Beaver skin robes were seldom made because their skins were considered too heavy. This skin was used chiefly for caps and mitts and sometimes for lying on. No bear skin robes were used. This skin was also considered too heavy and was chiefly used for lying on.

No robes of woven lynx or of leg skin of lynx and fox were used, although the Tahltan had heard of their use by some Interior tribes. No robes or clothing or bedding were made of skins of wolf or dog. One informant said the hair of these animals was the same as poison and therefore, the Indians never used their skins. Hardly any robes or clothing were made of skins or sheep or goats. Sheepskin was too tender and did not wear well whilst goat skin had some parts too thick and some too thin. People who wore clothing or robes of these skins were laughed at or were considered very poor.

292 ceremonial clothing and some tie strings ended in
294 tassels. It seems no tassels of dyed hair were used.
531 Tassels were frequently ornamented by wrappings of porcupine quills in different colors.

ORNAMENTATION OF ORDINARY CLOTHING

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531 According to my informants, in older times every day clothing used when working, hunting, etc., was on the whole plain; very little of it had any embroidery. Articles of clothing ornamented with rich bead and quill embroidery etc., were kept for holiday dress and used at dances, etc. Young people and wealthy people had more ornamentation on their clothes than others.

Moccasins

The common ornamentation of moccasins consists of embroidery on the tongue and along the seam bordering the latter. A very common method is to cover the tongue with red or blue cloth and border it with two to seven closely connected and parallel lines of beads in different colors. Frequently the same number of lines of silk embroidery is used instead of beads. Three seems to be a very common number of lines to use in this margin. The lines are in alternating colors or they may be of varied colors. The former method is most common. Sometimes the border is composed of silk work in two or more colors, the threads or stitches crossing each other as in quill work. Occasionally the border is of quill work in two or more colors. Instead of cloth the tongue itself is often ornamented with bead work (very rarely silk work or quill work) forming open designs where the surface of the tongue is the field. Only very rarely does the beading cover the whole tongue and appear as a field for designs. In all cases the ornamentation is done directly on the skin. I have not noticed nor heard of its having been done on strips of skin etc., which were later sewed on the moccasin. Many moccasins have plain tongues, the only ornamentation being the border embroidered with bead, silk or quill work. Piping of skin or of red cloth is frequently used in all the seams of moccasins. This piping is always cut close. This is the only ornamentation which occurs on the front or toe seams and heel seams of moccasins. The top seam connecting the foot and legging pieces of the moccasin is often ornamented by piping of leather or of cloth. The piping here, instead of being cut close to the shoe,

is cut generally one to two and a half inches from it so as to form a fringe or flap surrounding the foot and reaching the tongue on each side. When of leather, the edge of the flap is generally pinked or cut in a very short tooth-like fringe or in a series of square notches made by cutting out each alternate piece of the fringe between cuts (see flap on Yellow-knife moccasin, Hatt Fig. 18). When of cloth, the edge of the cloth is often bound with braid or ribbon. Occasionally the flap is of leather and covered with cloth. Usually leather flaps are narrower than cloth ones and have no ornamentation other than the pinking. Cloth flaps, are usually wider and are often ornamented with bead embroidery, either only as an edging or as an edging combined with open designs covering more or less the entire flap. I have not seen or heard of quill work occurring on these flaps, and it seems silk work is also rare. Most flaps are left loose and hang down as a kind of fringe concealing to some extent the laces at the sides of the moccasins. Others have their lower edge stitched down to the foot of the moccasin. In this case there are no side loops on the moccasins, or in other cases they exist but are not used. All informants agree that piping cut close is old, and most of them think the rather narrow pinked flaps of leather on moccasins is old. On the other hand they consider that wide flaps which are embroidered are comparatively modern and likely came in with the traders. They do not seem to think that the cloth flap is an adaptation from the leather flap which has come in with the advent of cloth and beads. However this may be, these flaps, both of leather and cloth, are particularly common on moccasins of a number of Athabaskan tribes and the Tlingit. It may be remarked that slipper moccasins, which lack uppers, are nearly all provided with flaps of considerable width. As a rule these are stitched down on the moccasin, but some are loose, excepting their upper edge where they are generally enclosed in a binding of colored braid or colored ribbon procured from the stores. Sometimes fur and rarely bird skin are used instead. Leather flaps on slipper moccasins are rare, nearly all flaps being made of red, blue, and black cloth. Sometimes the edge of the cloth is cut in wavy lines with or without pinking, and occasionally two or more layers of cloth of different colors are laid one on the other and the edges of some or all are pinked.

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Rarely the uppers of moccasins are pinked around the edges but they are never ornamented in any other way. Moccasins were not set with cut fringes like those of leggings etc. and it seems appliqué work was never used. A very few moccasins had wrapped quill

291 294 531 work laid over the tongue seam instead of cross quill work. It seems a narrow piece of skin was used as foundation and this stitched on. This was quite rare, and it is uncertain whether it is really very old. It resembles somewhat the horse hair embroidery of the Interior Salish.

Trailers were seldom cut in an ornamental way by the Tahltan; in fact most moccasins had none, as they were cut off even with the shoe. Rarely they were stitched up on the heel of the shoe. A few were retained full length, generally projecting half an inch or so. Most of these had square ends. The only other forms I have seen or heard of are as in the sketch below.

Some of the most fancy moccasins, besides having the usual embroidery on the tongues, were further ornamented with beaded designs all over the fronts.

Boots were ornamented along the big seams with cut fringes ½ to 2½ inches long on the seam following the outside of the leg. If the fringe was short, about 1 inch in length, it was pinked instead of being cut in the ordinary way. Sometimes, instead of the piping being left long to form a fringe, it was cut flush with the surface of the boot and the seam ornamented with quill work. It seems that as a rule if fringes were used there was no quill work and vice versa.

No painting or staining was done on moccasins or boots.

Body Wear

Leggings and pants were ornamented in the same way as the leg of boots. Shirts of men and dresses of women were also ornamented in the same way. If the piping forming the fringe was comparatively wide or long it was cut, and if comparatively narrow it was pinked. If cut flush with the garment it was covered with quill

embroidering. Some fringes had alternating parts pinked and cut. According to my informants fringes were never long and never finely cut, as was often the case among the plateau tribes. Among the latter, fringes were sometimes cut into fine strings, and on the whole were of much greater length than among the Tahltan and other northern tribes. Extra pieces of skin pinked, fringed or embroidered were hardly ever sewed on clothing for ornament. Some men's shirts and women's dresses had extra pieces sewed on the opening in front which were pinked or fringed, but these were for utility rather than ornament. Sometimes part of a fringe was cut and part pinked, these alternating. Some fringes on shirts and dresses besides being pinked were further ornamented with punctures. These generally consisted of small round or triangular holes. 291 294 531

A shirt or dress with fringes usually had no quill work ornamentation and vice versa. Fringes were never cut very fine. This holds good for ancient times as well as lately. Ornamentation by fringing was more common on men's shirts and less common on women's dresses. Most of the latter, instead of fringes, had quill work embroidery along all or most of the seams. Many had also some embroidery, generally stripes, on the front and back of the dress above the waist and at the neck and bottom. No fringes of thongs like those so common on women's dresses of the plateau tribes were used.

Handwear

Mitts were sometimes ornamented with fringes and pinking along the seams. A few had embroidered stripes of quill work on the upper parts. At the present day the upper or cuff parts of mitts and gloves of the high or gauntlet kind are frequently richly ornamented with bead and silk embroidery, red cloth, etc., and the strap connecting the mitts, if of colored yarn, is embellished with tassels of this material. Mitten straps of leather frequently had the edges pinked for ornamentation.

Headwear

It seems there was little ornamentation on caps, hoods and headbands. Caps, or rather hoods, used by women and girls were often trimmed in front with strips of fur of different kind from the body of the hood. These were more or less ornamental. Headbands made of entire skins of small animals retained the feet and tails

291 294 531 these being retained for ornament and worn at the side or back. Men's caps were occasionally ornamented with small bunches of feathers sewed to the front or to one or both sides. A few headbands were also thus ornamented. A great variety of caps ornamented with ribbons, colored cloth, pearl buttons, shells, feathers, beads, teeth, etc., are in use but they belong to the ceremonial dress.

Robes

Robes were ornamented in various ways. Sewed rabbit skin robes often had the skins arranged according to color in various ways so as to give a striped or other effect. Sometimes the white skins were grouped in one area, the darkest ones in another and the medium or half changed skins in another (this if the blanket was made chiefly of fall skins). This method was also employed to some extent in other fur robes. In robes made of skins of small animals the tails (and occasionally the head, feet and ears) were often left on for ornament. The strips of leather forming edges to many robes were frequently ornamented with more or less quill embroidery in stripes and also rarely with red paint applied in stripes. The insides of robes often had all the seams or joinings of the skins painted red. No robes were painted with pictographs or designs as among the plateau tribes. Ornamentation of robes with pendants, claws, teeth, shells, etc., appears to have been on ceremonial pieces only. Some robes had fringes of the same material or skin which composed the robe. These fringes were short and never cut very fine.

Designs

It seems there were no designs either in quill or bead embroidery pertaining particularly to clothing. The quill designs were all geometric and generally arranged in lines or narrow strips. Bead designs are [177] chiefly floral and many appear to have been adopted from the Tlingit. As stated already, clothing was very rarely painted excepting sometimes along seams. Rarely some people made a few fanciful designs in clothing in red and black. These had no meanings or at least had nothing to [292] do with dreams. Only shamans occasionally painted marks or designs on clothing which had connection with dreams or manitou.

Belts

A good many belts used in ordinary dress both by men and women had more or less quill embroidery on them and some had fringes or thongs along their lower edge which were strung with dentalia. Some others were ornamented with fringing or pinking only. Very few belts were altogether plain.

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PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Necklaces were formerly much used, but more by women than by men. Necklaces and collars pertaining specially to lads, maidens, widows etc. have already been described.

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It seems no necklaces of quills were used, nor others of bone tubes or copper tubes.

Some wealthy people wore large plates or pendants of copper with men's heads incised on them. These were obtained from the Tlingit and they were costly. One informant said these plates of copper were worth more than similar plates of gold would be worth now. A person owning one was considered wealthy it is said.[1]

301 556 [439]

Dentalium shell necklaces were used by everyone. The best ones consisted of very large and ivory white shells. These were much more valuable than necklaces made of medium, small, and poorly coloured shells. The shells were strung on sinew thread and caribou string and were of various sizes and lengths. Some people used a number. It appears none of them were of breast plate form nor covered the breast in a series of necklaces connected with a single neck piece, as was common among the plateau tribes. Necklaces of lynx teeth were used a good deal by women and children. Men who had bear, wolf, beaver, etc. as manitous wore claws of these animals as necklaces. After the traders came bead necklaces came into use. Charms of stone, etc., enclosed in leather were much used as pendants. Nose ornaments were in vogue. None of them were of shells.

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[1] (The Tlingit tell a story of the origin of these copper plates. The first one was obtained by a poor man who became wealthy).

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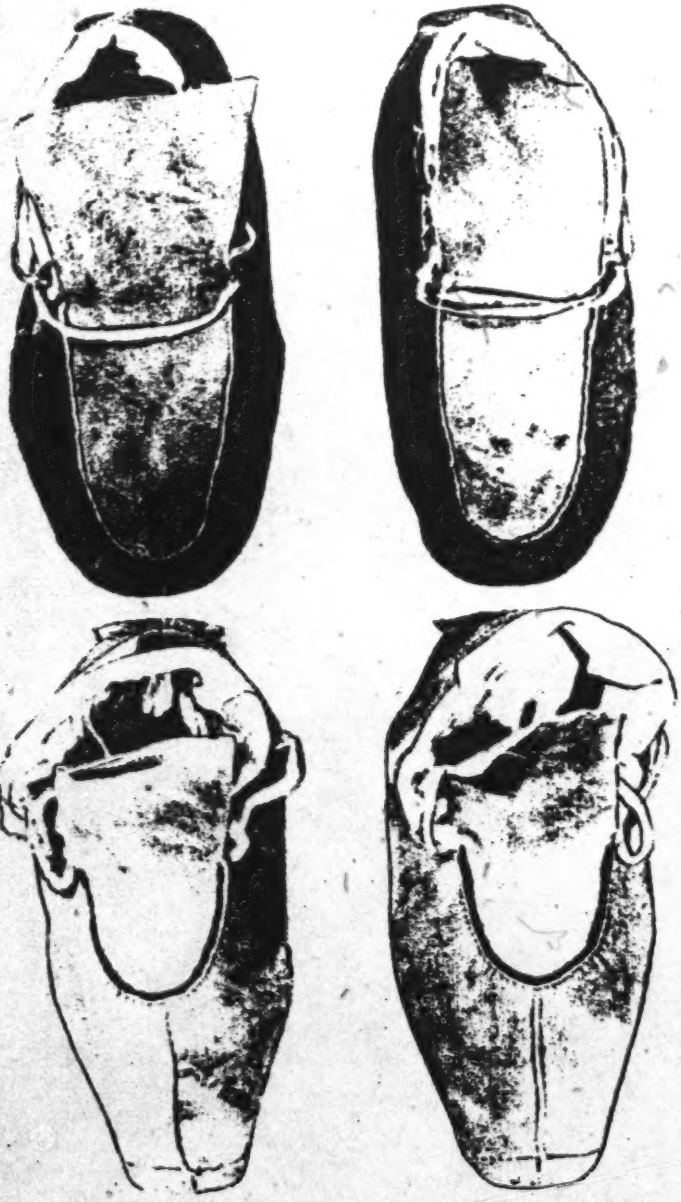

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[end plate 1]

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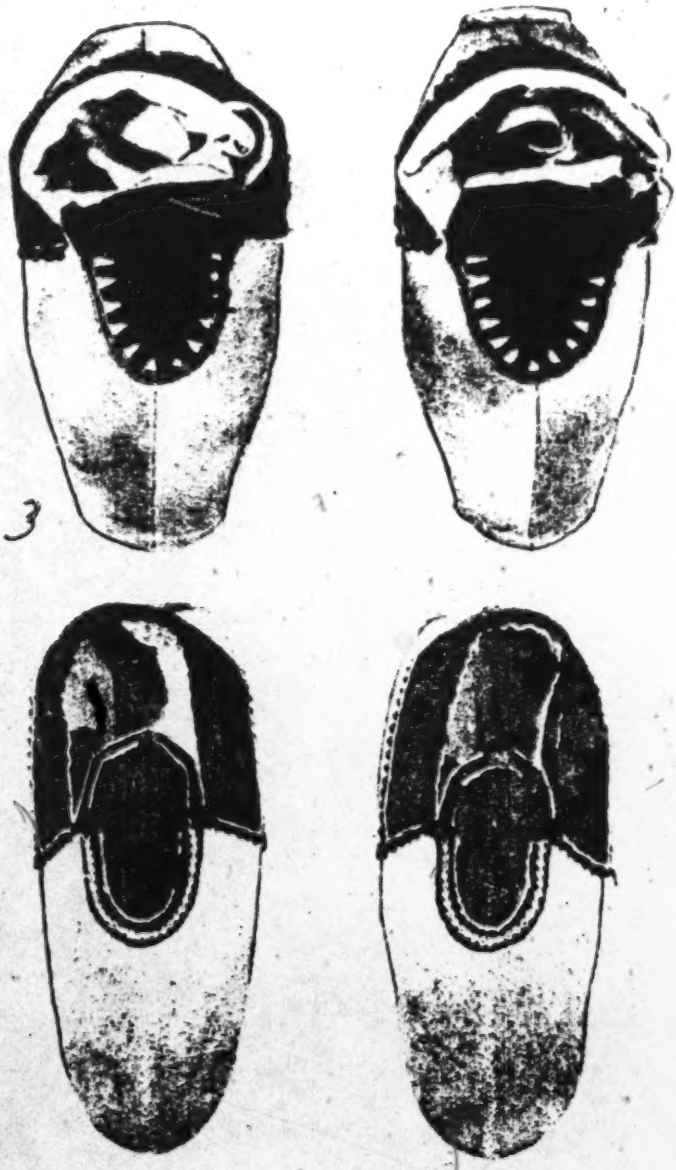

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[end plate 3]

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[end plate 4]

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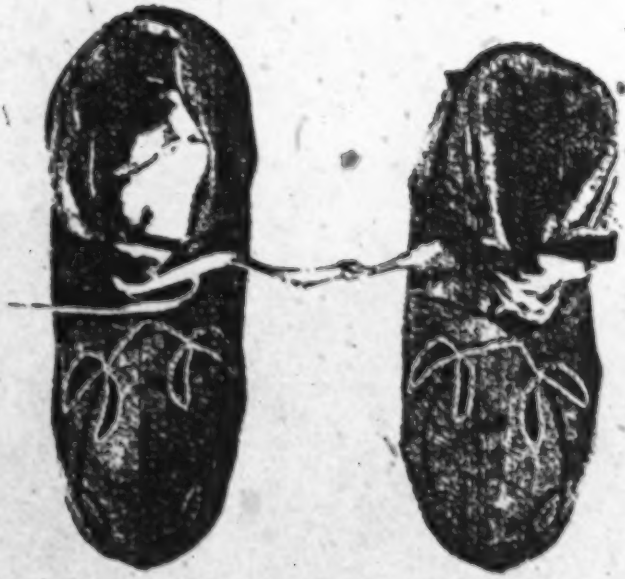

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[end plate 5]

5: Tolt E-5 (1912, 1915) 1956 ND12 Nahane ND12

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[end plate 6]

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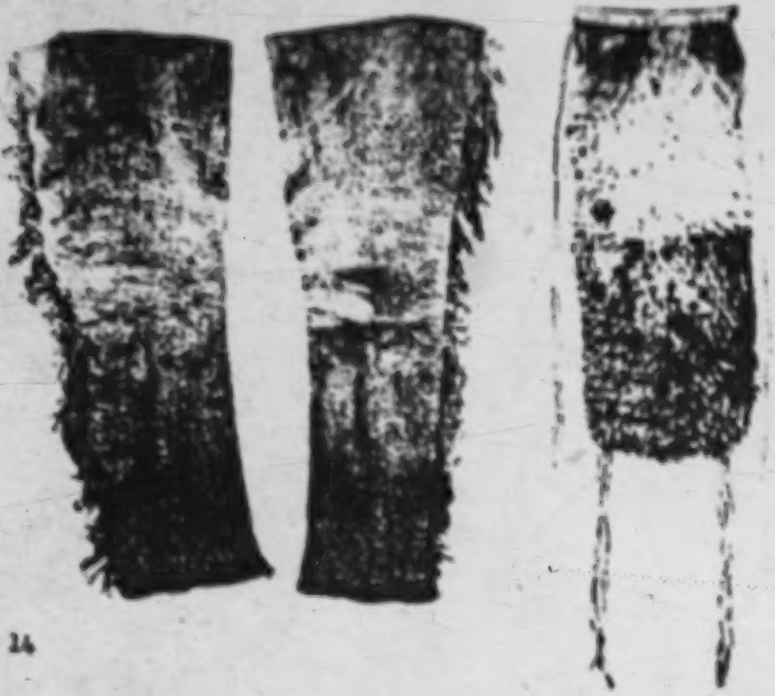

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[end plate 7]

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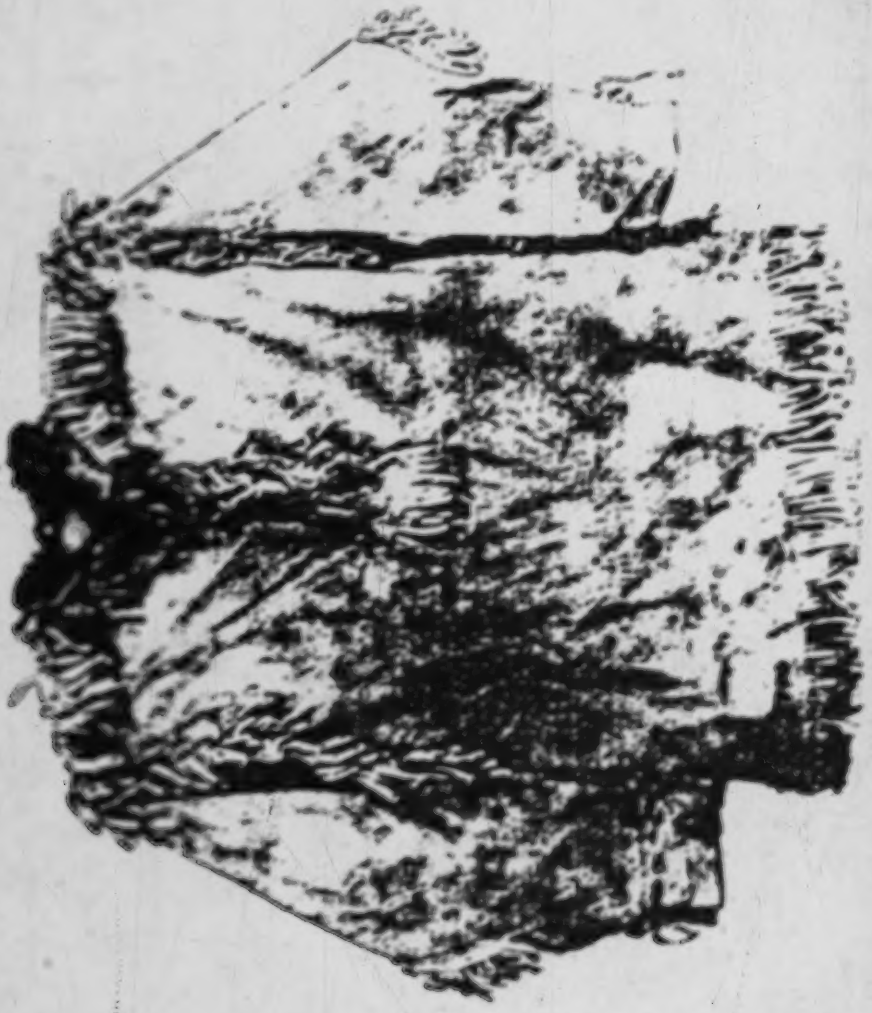

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[end plate 8]

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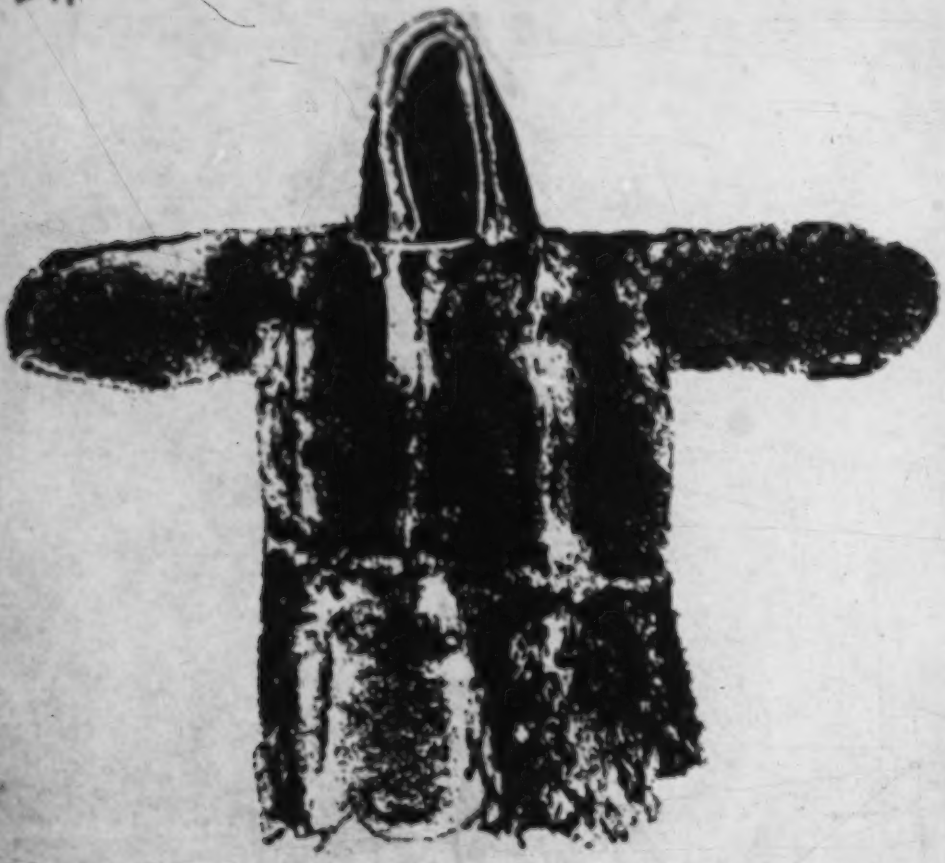

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[end plate 10]

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S: Telt E-5 (1912, 1915) 1956 ND12 Nahane ND12

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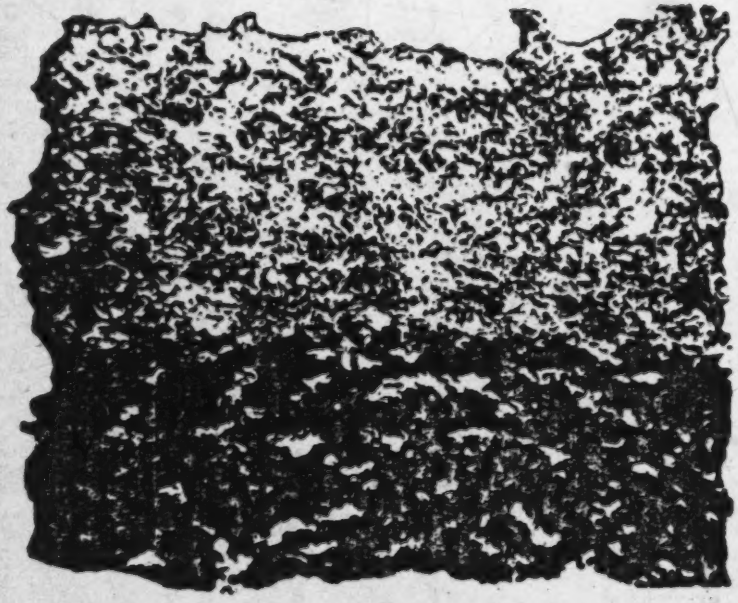

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[end plate 13]

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Tsalona
Espatotena
Upper Liard

In the
dwelling people lived on the spruce-brush carpeted ground and slept under blankets of woven rabbit skin or stitched ground-hog pelts with tanned-skin pillows stuffed with feathers. The strike-a-light method provided fire and was used in conjunction with a fungus that grew on birch trees, from which tinder was prepared. Informants mentioned the fire drill but its use appears to have been relatively recent. Travelers in both summer and winter carried fire on glowing poles, the only type of fire carrier admitted.

Espatotena. From a trapper operating in the South Nahani drainage Godsell heard of a cave " 'cut from the rock half-way up the face of a hundred foot precipice that spans a two-thousand-foot valley. It was about eighteen feet by twelve, with a hole running straight up through the rock, which must have been a sort of chimney.' " Two additional caves were also reported, " 'chiselled from living rock by human hands.' "[8] While the construction of rock shelters by stone-tool using aborigines may be questioned, the use of cave shelters seems very plausible and is in fact corroborated by data we ourselves obtained as well as by other investigators. Dr. Wesley Bliss of the University of New Mexico entered the South Nahani country in 1938 and reports on cave habitations.[9]

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Upper Liard Kaska. Camp provided the place where the Kaska woman manufactured clothing for her husband, children, and herself. Tanned caribou skin comprised the principal material which she sewed with the aid of sinew line and bone needles pushed with a flat piece of bone held in the palm of her hand. Women used a work board when cutting the patterns of moccasins and mittens. Small sewing implements not in use were kept in a fish-skin bag. During cold weather fur robes supplemented tanned-skin garments. These had been tanned by women workers or else been plaited from strips of rabbit, ground-hog, and gopher skins without the aid of a frame. Body parts served for measuring clothing materials.

In summer each sex wore a tanned-skin breech cloth supported from an inner belt, a tailored coat or dress with sleeves reaching to just below the elbow and girdled by a belt of tanned skin or woven porcupine quills, trousers of the same material suspended at the hips from the inner belt, and moccasins. In winter certain adjustments were made to this basic dress, notably through the use of additional garments. The breech cloth became a length of plaited rabbit skin, while over the coat both sexes slipped a parka made of smoked caribou skin or of sheep skin tanned with the hair on. The parka reached to the middle of the thigh and splits on both sides of the lower edge were provided with a lacing that could be tightened to insure a snug fit. Parka sleeves sometimes continued

[8] Godsell, *Romance of the Alaska Highway* (1945), 92.

[9] From the Pelly River country Field reports that the Indians "years ago lived in open camps sheltered on three sides by throwing up logs and brush." A fire was located in front of these lean-tos which were further covered with caribou skins. (Field, *Unpublished manuscript* [1913], 5.) In 1885 Schwatka reported for Ayan, a village below Fort Selkirk (Tutchoni area) that a few Indians had built log cabins "of the most squalid and worthless character, which they leave in winter for the better protection of the tent." There is nothing to suggest that these log houses are aboriginal. The same writer speaks of conical shelters covered with a double layer of skins and banked with snow. Schwatka, *Report on a Military Reconnoissance made in Alaska in 1883* (1900), 191.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

into non-detachable mittens, in which case the sleeves of the garment were provided with a lacing located under the armpits. By undoing these ties a person could free his arm from the sleeves when he required greater freedom of movement for the performance of camp tasks. Considerable care went into the manufacture of a parka, the task being accomplished with the use of a stretching frame over which the finished article was mounted.[10] Inside the garment, next to the stomach, a pocket of caribou hide held feather duffel that contributed to warmth. Decoration consisted primarily of porcupine-quill work. Belonging perhaps to an earlier period of history than the parka was the waist-length winter coat made of skins tanned with the hair and worn with the fur innermost. Open down the front, such coats closed at the throat with "stick buttons." Another variation in winter dress consisted of coat and trouser combinations. Trouser and moccasin combinations were not limited to winter but were never donned for hunting. Winter moccasins covered feet that had first been wrapped in rabbit skin. Often moose hairs or dry grass lined the bottoms of winter footgear in order to secure greater insulation from the cold. Both sexes wore leggings, those of the man reaching to the knee and those of a woman ending somewhat lower. It is not clear if leggings constituted winter garb. Around camp in winter people wore mittens of caribou hide tanned with the hair on, while the parka and mitten combination garment made satisfactory apparel for traveling.

Young children beginning to walk wore a shirt of caribou skin reaching to below the stomach. Infants who spent a great deal of time in the moss bag needed no garment other than that container. In winter baby bags were doubled and interlined with eider-down. Around the baby's feet the mother wrapped rabbit skin. In winter moss to absorb the infant's excretions was always warmed prior to being placed next to the child's body.

A variety of headgear appears characteristic of the aboriginal period. In winter men (who lacked a parka?) enjoyed hats of woven spruce roots lined with feathers and provided with ear flaps of fur that tied under the chin. If a traveler grew warm from strenuous walking he could throw back the hat without undoing the chin ties, thus letting the article dangle in back of his neck. Skin from the head of the caribou furnished another type of headgear used by men. Both sexes wore hats of beaver or other skin with flaps extending below the ears to tie under the chin. Here a piece of rabbit skin might be placed for additional warmth. Bird skin, perhaps from the loon, supplied material for caps worn by men, women, and children. In winter they too reached below the ears. A strip of birch bark, an inch or two wide, sewn to form a circle and covered with smoked skin, provided a boy's hat. This item may have been a relatively recent novelty.[11]

Various techniques of clothing decoration undoubtedly enjoyed simultaneous popu-

[10] The sketch which the informant drew of such a frame closely resembles the frame made by the Ingalik Indians. Osgood, *Ingalik Material Culture* (1940), 253, Fig. 108.

[11] Novelty hats remain popular among the Kaska and adjoining Tahltan. A person who has worked among both the Northern Athapaskan and Northern Algonkians is quickly struck by the monotony of headgear among the latter, where almost every man and boy wears the peaked cap in every season. Professor Osgood, who pointed out to us the Northern Athapaskan's taste for varied headgear, remarked that the Indians of the Northwest Coast also reveal a considerable variety of hat styles.

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larity among the Cassiar Indians. Many garments carried porcupine-quill embroidery and quills were also woven on the bow loom to produce decorative outer belts and headbands. Besides being richly adorned with quills a woman further enhanced her dress with "the hard pellets" obtained from the tripe of moose. Skin fringes enjoyed great popularity, being strung across the shoulders of a man's coat and suspended from the lower edge of the parka. Red earth mixed with a small amount of grease or balsam pitch provided a paint applied with the fingers to clothing. The designs of such painting appeared in pairs, for example on the left and right sides of the ventral surface of the garment. Two common designs, reconstructed from memory by an informant, are indicated in Figure 5. Ground-hog skin sewn to the front of a man's winter parka probably served both for warmth and adornment. Moccasins did not carry a fur trimming. Pieces of bone, painted red and blue (blue-green color confusion obtained among the Kaska as among many American Indians) hung from coats. Blue pigment, obtainable in the vicinity of Pelly Banks, was mixed with grease or, to "really make it stick," with balsam

FIG. 5. Painted Designs for Clothing.

pitch. Black paint, the color that completed the aboriginal palette, also came from earth but appears to have been little employed for clothing decoration. Feathers did not find much place in ornament. Shamans wore a feather headdress while engaged in their professional duties and an occasional person sometimes adorned himself by sticking a feather in his hair. Feather-lined wristlets have already been mentioned.

We come now to adornment worn directly on or in the skin. Men made porcupine-quill necklaces, the quills being dyed by wives and sweethearts. Such necklaces were frequently provided with pendants hanging down in front of the body. The wrists of women carried bracelets of smoked skin decorated with porcupine-quill embroidery, while moose and caribou teeth were much fancied for necklaces. Both sexes wore quill headbands. The ear lobes of older girls and women were weighted with plugs carved from bone but no ornaments penetrated the helix. In the lower lip a woman often inserted a labret made of a small piece of fish bone.[12] A woman's brother-in-law frequently performed the operation that pierced the skin for these ornaments. In the process he pinched the soft flesh in a "wooden frame" (apparently consisting simply of two pieces of wood). The vise remained in place overnight and prevented the blood from flowing into the lip. Next morning the flesh was punctured and balsam pitch applied to forestall

[12] Among the Tlingit bone labrets in the lower lip were "a sign of womanhood" and their use was restricted to women of the upper class. The piercing of children's ears was celebrated with a potlatch. Both sexes wore nose rings. Stevenson, *Some Notes on Southeastern Alaska and its People* (1893), 82; Jones, *A Study of the Thlingets of Alaska* (1914), 66-67; Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 190.

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304 infection. Subsequently, from time to time the hole might be enlarged. Nasal rings fashioned from the wide hollow ends of sheep horns remained restricted to women but septum plugs found favor with both sexes. A man also perforated the nasal septum. In the case of boys great secrecy shrouded the operation. People believed that infection would occur if a woman chanced to see the freshly made hole. A young girl carefully concealed her unhealed septum wound from an old woman.

302 Men extracted their facial hair by tweezing, an old man sometimes soliciting a boy to perform the task. Rubbing the hair with rendered bone marrow probably constituted adornment, and in summer people greased their faces. To lighten dark skin a mixture of pitch and shredded bark was applied over a period of several months. Face painting marked the potlatch dancers, and youths of both sexes painted the countenance for courting, the adornment somehow signifying that the person would soon be married. Girls and young women plaited the hair in two or three braids that hung down over the back. Where the braid began a woman tied a painted band of thin, smoked sheepskin. No woman ever coiled her hair over the ears or put it up in a bun behind her head. Men let their hair hang long and unbraided.[13] Combs of jack pine or balsam brush [765] were used and sometimes also the backbone of a fish. Death of a close relative demanded that the hair of both sexes be cut.

304 Boys and girls sought to be tattooed when about ten years old. The operator usually consisted of an older youth. The area to be tattooed was pierced with a porcupine quill coated with charcoal and the needle slowly drawn under the surface so that it left its color behind.[14] Only a limited quantity of tattooing went on during a single sitting, with the result that the process continued over several months. A skilled practitioner "knew the depth of the skin and didn't hurt the other fellow." Designs consisted of short parallel lines applied on the upper surfaces of both arms. Here a man would have his war record embellished. Circumcision was unknown.

291 *Dease River Kaska.* Tanned caribou skin provided the principal source of clothing, supplemented in winter by fox, marten, and other pelts. Sewing was with an awl that punched "holes through which lines were passed to keep shirts and pants together." Women also utilized thimbles of semi-tanned skin when sewing with a needle. Clothes not currently in use were stored in a two-foot long clothing bag of tanned skin.

A man's basic dress consisted of a long-sleeved coat, open in front and tied at the neck. A breech cloth, looped over an inner belt, covered the genitals. The same belt also supported trousers reaching from ankle to the middle of the thigh. Strips of tanned skin ("garters") connected the outside of these leggings to the belt. Only relatively recently, [177] according to an informant, did the Dease River people borrow moccasin and trouser combinations from the Taku Indians. A woman did not use a coat but was attired in a dress that closed in front and extended to about the middle of the calf. She too wore leggings, fastened to an inner belt that also held up the customary breech cloth. Moccasins completed the woman's basic attire.

[13] Uncut hair was customary among the Tlingit. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 189.

[14] "Prick" tattooing is specified for the Tlingit. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 190, 261.

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In winter men and women added coats of ground-hog, fox, sheep, and other skins to the previously mentioned garments. People avoided fur when traveling because they feared perspiration and dangerous chilling. Woven-skin clothes originated from the pelts of ground-hogs and squirrels, the lines cut from the skins of those animals exceeding the strength of rabbit fur. Informants seemed confused about the use of parkas. One man denied their presence in the pre-contact culture (WT). Mittens completed the winter dress and gloves (?) were donned for working around camp.

Ordinarily in summer people wore no headgear. Sometimes men appeared with "stick hats," shaped like small tambourine drums, the frame consisting of a piece of bent and sewn spruce wood. Semitanned caribou skin furnished a covering. In the same season women sometimes dressed with woven spruce-root caps or hats of birch bark which they abandoned in winter for a triangular piece of skin that covered the head and ears to tie under the chin somewhat like a modern kerchief.

Informants called attention to two moccasin types, one older than the other. The earlier pattern came to a sharp point with the stitching running from the tip of the toes back to the tongue. The second style, commonly used today, had a blunt toe, the skin being brought up around the foot and sewn to the edges of the tongue.[15] For winter use women sewed large moccasins designed to be worn with rabbit fur, feather, or dry grass duffel.

For decoration women utilized polished fragments of bone that were sewn to garments and also skin fringes, fur trimming, and dyed porcupine-quill embroidery.[16] Both sexes indulged in ornamented outer belts containing a considerable amount of quillwork. These girdles, like headbands, occasionally consisted of solid quillwork, women weaving the quills on bow looms. Tanned-skin garments were also painted with blue (or green) and red pigments. The Dease River Indians did not add feathers or hair tufts to clothing but an informant had heard that the Etca?otena of Fort Nelson utilized hair in decorating their garments.[17] Face painting enhanced personal attractiveness, red and black paints serving for this purpose. The former color came from ocher mixed with grease. White paint seems to have been used less for adornment than as protection against the strong rays of the summer sun. The object may have been to keep the face from darkening.[18] Normally people did not cut their hair, although they frequently rubbed it with rendered bone marrow or caribou grease before combing with a fish skeleton. Wristlets adorned the lower arms of girls. For good fortune men and women wore amulets of twisted eider-duck feathers around their wrists. The use of lip plugs remains in doubt.[19]

[15] A similar sequence of styles is reported for the Tahltan. "A round-toed moccasin is also made and used by the Tahltan; but they claim that this style is of comparatively recent introduction among them, being copied from moccasins worn by eastern half-breeds and whites." Teit, *Notes on the Tahltan Indians of British Columbia* (1906), 342.

[16] Among the Tahltan "porcupine quill embroidery was done on clothes and bags, and shells obtained from the Coast were much used for personal adornment and ornamentation in general." Teit, *On Tahltan (Athabaskan) Work* (1912), 485.

[17] His information is corroborated by Slave Indian informants. Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* (1946), 58.

[18] Among the Tlingit face painting furnished protection against sun and wind. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 191.

[19] It may be that labrets were of relatively late introduction and did not meet with the same reception

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Tselona

304 The use of lip plugs remains in doubt.
The nasal septum of a boy was pierced at about the age of seven, the hole being progressively enlarged with wooden plugs of various sizes. Nose ornaments continued to be worn into adulthood. A girl's mother pierced her daughter's ears around the age of ten, a porcupine quill being used for the initial operation. Some girls perforated their own ear lobes. To enlarge the hole, bone plugs of different sizes were applied. Nothing could be learned of tattooing, one informant even denying the practice.

515 Indians commonly washed their hands with a mixture of wood ashes and grease.
302 Human urine contained in birch-bark vessels supplied an effective detergent for cleaning clothes. Use of urine to wash the body was denied but the pattern is said to have occurred among the adjoining Tahltan.[29] People pared fingernails and made no special
514 effort to destroy the parings. Defecation and elimination constituted private matters, to which Indians attended in the bush. Only young children about two years old were permitted to urinate and defecate into birch bark vessels kept in the dwelling (in winter?). Following defecation the body was cleaned with moss and twigs.

291 *Tselona.* Women sewed tanned-skin clothing with both awls and true needles of bone. Rabbit-skin line was plaited for garments but no frame aided the process. Gut and fish skins found no use in clothing manufacture.

A man's basic dress consisted of an open coat reaching to the thighs and fastened with stick buttons, trousers extending upward to the thighs and attached to an inner belt by tanned-skin thongs, and the breech cloth. Women wore dresses reaching to the middle of the calf together with knee length leggings secured with line. Moccasins and decorative outer belts completed the dress of both sexes. For winter weather men wore parkas of fully tanned hide, occasionally lined with fur. No use of the parka stretcher could be recalled. Mittens packed with muskrat fur kept hands warm, while moccasin duffel of goat's hair served a similar function for the lower extremities. Dry grass found no employment as duffel. Gloves remained unknown prior to contact. Use of moccasin and trouser or coat and trouser combinations failed to be recalled. A shaman did not dress distinctively. Clothing remained unwashed as long as it was in use.

A variety of hats shared popularity. The simplest type of headgear for both sexes consisted of an approximately triangular piece of tanned skin that was lined with muskrat or ground hog fur. In wearing these, the fur rested next to the head. The lower edges tied beneath the wearer's chin thus covering the ears and cheeks. "Stick hats," made of a piece of bent and sewn birch wood covered with marten or beaver skin tanned with the hair on, were also recalled. A very decorative hat for women consisted of a loon skin. Woven spruce-root caps could not be recalled.

291 Clothing decoration featured skin fringes, pieces of bone, fur, paint, and porcupine
531 quills. Fringes commonly appeared on mittens, coats, and dresses, being added to the collar as well as across the back of the latter garment. Lynx and other fur fringes contributed to the attractiveness of parka hoods and also appeared on other items of dress.

everywhere in the Cassiar. According to Jenness the Tahltan rejected the labret of the coastal people while the Carrier readily accepted the same ornament. Jenness, *Indians of Canada* (1932), 372.

[29] The Tlingit (including the Chilkat), like many other Pacific Coast people, used urine as a detergent. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 192.

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Red appealed as the favorite color for painting skin clothing. It was applied around the neck as well as along the front of the garment, always in straight, vertical lines. Porcupine-quill embroidery adorned coats, dresses, and mittens. Men wore arm garters of plaited quills, a woman priding herself on being able to supply her husband with such "high-toned" ornaments.

Headdresses included porcupine-quill and tanned-skin headbands, the latter embroidered with quills, and headkerchiefs of tanned skin embroidered with quillwork. Women used the kerchiefs while men wore the headbands. Necklaces and wristlets could not be recalled. At about the age of seven the like-sexed parent pierced a child's nasal septum with a bone awl. In the hole the individual carried a bone plug but never a ring. Childhood also marked the time when a mother perforated her daughter's ears. In these holes the girl inserted bone ornaments carved by men. Helix ear plugs as well as face and chin labrets remained unknown. Only a woman painted her face and the use of rendered bone marrow for hair dressing likewise remained restricted to her sex. Grouard has described the appearance of women who came to Fort Liard in 1867 from the vicinity of Fort Halkett. They were attired in moose-skin (*peux d'orignaux*) garments decorated "with a kind of pommade made of goat's grease and vermillion paint with which they had daubed their cheeks, nose, and chin." When the priest told them to stop painting their faces, because the custom displeased both God and himself, they immediately began to remove the designs.[31] With a needle and length of sinew line young people of both sexes tattooed the body. Generally a companion who possessed special skill in this technique performed the initial operation. The hair normally remained uncut. Women wore braids hanging down over the back. Fish skeletons found no place as hair combing devices, the informant asserting that the people used a comb carved from birch. Facial hair was extracted by plucking but no attempt was made to get rid of pubic or armpit hair.

Frances Lake Kaska. The aboriginal moccasin pattern of the Tutcotena featured the pointed toe with the seam running lengthwise until it joined the tongue. Pike reports seeing women who wore "a large brass ring through the nose" near Frances Lake.[32]

RECREATION

Upper Liard Kaska. Sometimes in the evening when chores were done and everyone had eaten, the people played. The summer and winter gatherings around a fish lake provided opportunities for recreation but no great cooperation was required for a man to amuse himself by carving small animal images from wood or outlining figures in red paint on rocks and trees. In winter children enjoyed drawing huge scrawling designs in

[31] Grouard, *Souvenirs de mes soixante ans d'apostolat dans l'Athabaska Mackenzie* (n. d.), 105.

[32] Pike, *Through the Subarctic Forest* (1896), 138. Field reports clothing of caribou skin as well as moose calf skin among the Pelly River Indians. These materials were sometimes "tanned with the hair on, sometimes worn with the hair inside the garment, sometimes with the hair out. Some of the more stylish use beaver fur coats and hats and mitts, also in trimming garments. They use rabbit skin cut in strips and knitted for blankets, also the skins of squirrels and groundhog." Field, *Unpublished manuscript* (1913), 9.